THE CONSPIRATORS;

OR,

The CASE of CATILINE,

As Collected from the beſt Hiſtorians, impartially examin'd; with reſpect to his *declared* and *covert* ABETTORS; and the *Artifices* uſed to *Skreen* the Conſpirators from *Puniſhment*.

By the AUTHOR of the CASE of *Francis*, Lord BACON.

Nor This, *nor* That, *you* CATILINE *can call*;
He's Knight o'th' Shire, and repreſents you All.

Rumpatur, Quiſquis rumpitur Invidia.
Mart.

The TENTH EDITION.

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TO

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

The EARL of

S.----------D.

My LORD,

AS ſoon as I had collected the *Memoirs* of this horrid Conſpiracy, I was not long deliberating with my ſelf to whom I ſhould make bold to addreſs them; for caſting my Eyes about both for a PATRIOT and a STATESMAN, your Lordſhip's ſhining Character, in both theſe Capacities, ſtruck me at one View, and immediately determin'd me in my Choice.

BY ſuch Tracts of Hiſtory as theſe may be ſeen, how Kingdoms and Common-wealths are undone: And the Pilots of the State, by ſuch Examples, may know how to ſhun thoſe fatal Rocks, upon which other Governments have ſplit. I don't know, but that our Circumſtances may be like thoſe of old *Rome*, when this Plot of CATILINE was ſet on Foot: But of this your Lordſhip is the *ableſt Judge*. That there has been a Conſpiracy among us is known to all the World; that the Miſchief, and Devaſtations which it has cauſed, have been more fatal than the moſt inveterate Civil-War, is as certain: But, amidſt the Miſeries of a ſuffering People, the Wants of ſo many Thouſand Private Families, the Ruin of all Ranks and Degrees of Perſons, there is a glimmering of Hope left to comfort them, which is, that they can boaſt in your Lordſhip's Aſſiſtance, the *Redreſs* of a *States-man*, whoſe *uncorrupt Heart* and *clean Hands* have been able to *baffle* the *Aſſaults* of *foul Suſpicions*, and made your *Character* as *clear* and *conſpicuous* to all the World, as it was before to your *beſt* and moſt *intimate* Friends.

TO ſuch Patriots therefore as your Lordſhip, it belongs [and from ſuch will it ever principally be expect-

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TO ſuch Patriots therefore as your Lordſhip, it belongs [and from ſuch will it ever principally be expect-

ed]

ed] to see that Justice be done to the Oppress; that Traytors, and Betrayers of their Country, be punish'd; and Miscreants kept in Awe by the Force of wholesome Severities.

WE live, *My Lord*, in an Age of Degeneracy and Corruption; yet if there are *Great* Men, who have meanly contaminated their Hands with *Bribes*, neither their Chariots nor their Equipage, their Quality nor their Offices, nor all the other Pomps of a superior Character, will be sufficient to defend them from our *Hatred* and *Contempt*.

FROM the mean Obscurity in which Fortune has plac'd me, I look up with Scorn upon that *little* Great Man, who is only remarkable for his *eminent Rogueries*. I do not say there is in the World any such thing as a *Great* Man with a *little* Soul; far be it from me to imagine, much more to utter Scandals against Those, who think themselves, and with Justice, my Superiors. But as the Great Council of the Nation are now upon a Scrutiny, endeavouring to detect, and purge away Infection, it is not doubted, at all Hands, but your Lordship, who make so considerable a Figure in this most august Assembly, will do all you can towards bringing the *Knot* of *Conspirators* to condign *Punishment*; Not only the *Inferior* Villains, but the *Great* Ones, if there can be any such, who have ventured to dishonour the high Rank they share, by bearing a Part in such a *Mechanick* Confederacy.

THERE have been, my LORD, *State-Criminals* before These: Nor can it ever be forgot, to the *Honour* of your Name, how active you were in bringing *Some* to the *Block* who had rashly presum'd to invade the Publick Peace. It was that Spirit of a *Patriot*, so exemplary in your Lordship, which made you think the Man unworthy of Life, who durst do any thing *to hurt his Country*. We cannot then distrust, that you will not proceed with the same *honest Resentments* against *these Traytors*: And endeavour to make their Punishment equal to their Crime. The *Others* were *protected* by their Country, and yet *disturb'd* it: These were not only *protected*, but *trusted* and *rewarded* by It; and in Return, *betray'd* and *ruin'd* It. But your Lordship can *distinguish* betwixt the *Criminals*.

PERMIT me, my Lord, to press one Sentence to you, which was used by *Porcius Latro*, in his honest Declamation

tion againſt CATILINE. *Multa ſunt equidèm in hâc vitâ, quæ turpiter, ac calamitoſe neglecta, Reſtitutionem tamèn quamdam quodammodo patiantur: Hujus vero vindicandi Sceleris ſi præſentem facultatem neglexeritis, fruſtrà poſteà recuperandæ copiam quæretis.* I hope I ſhall ſtand excuſed by your Lordſhip for this Quotation, becauſe it is the only Shadow of a *Parallel* that is pretended to be drawn, as your Lordſhip will readily obſerve, by the following Sheets: A *direct* and *plain* Matter of *Fact* is told; no one Perſon *obliquely* characteris'd, nor any Sarcaſms *invidiouſly* thrown in, to make the old *Roman* Conſpiracy *tally* with the Circumſtances of our *domeſtick Villany*. But as I muſt be acquitted to the World of This, the Hint, perhaps, might have been ſpared to your Lordſhip.

AS you have deſervedly the Reputation of ſo *conſummate* a *States-man*, we are not to queſtion but your Lordſhip is converſant with *Machiavel*; tho' your Hours are taken up with Affairs of too much Moment, and your Capacity for publick Buſineſs too great, to let you borrow any thing from *written* Policy. I ſhall therefore take the Liberty to produce a Remark of that *diſcerning* Man, in a Circumſtance very much reſembling our preſent Caſe. In a City, he ſays, where the People happen to be divided, one Part having injur'd the reſt, there remain but two Expedients of ſoddering up Matters: The One, is by putting the *Ring-leaders* to *Death*; the Other, is by forcing them to be Friends, and to give *Sureties* not to offend any more. The Laſt of theſe Methods he ſeems not to approve of; for, he ſays, Reconciliations made upon Force can never laſt; that their daily ſeeing one another will adminiſter new Occaſions of Quarrel; and beſides, if ever that Country ſhould be invaded, the injur'd Party will be apt to join with the Invaders, as the Means to ſecure their Revenge. Reſentment will always ſurvive a Wrong; and therefore as *Machiavel* ſays, in Caſes of this Nature there is no *ſure* Way of making Things *ſafe* but by *executing* the *Principals*.

I WOULD not willingly be an Advocate for *Cruelty*; but your Lordſhip, who was once pleaſed to think *Severity* the *ſafeſt* as well as *juſteſt* Counſel, will not be terrified at the *Greatneſs* of the Man, that ventures to *injure* his Country: For *You* can have no *Partiality* in Favour of *Traytors*.

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GO on then, *My Lord*, and like a Second CATO, perſecute Corruption where-ever you find it: So may you be honour'd in this Age and celebrated in the next: So, when the Hiſtory of this Affair comes to be writ without *Prejudice* or *Flattery*, may you be ſtil'd the PRESERVER and FATHER *of your Country*: And for ſuch Praiſes be the Subject of a better Pen, than That of

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's ſincere

Admirer, and moſt

obedient Servant,

BRITANNICUS.

THE

THE CONSPIRATORS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter upon the Hiſtory of that Conſpiracy, which is deſign'd to make the Subject of theſe Sheets, it may not be amiſs, by way of Introduction, to make a few Remarks upon *Conſpiracies* in general, and upon the different *Species* of them.

THERE are, as I conceive, *two* ſorts of *Conſpiracies*; One, which is form'd and carried on againſt the Perſon of the *Prince*; and the other, which is plotted againſt the *Common-wealth* or *People*. And firſt, I ſhall ſpeak of that ſort which concerns a Prince, tho' it may be thought a little foreign to the Caſe in hand: But, if we examine Hiſtory, we ſhall find that more Princes have died by them, than in the Field of Battle by the Hands of an open and declar'd Enemy. *

NOTWITHSTANDING, this, it muſt ſtill be admitted that it is infinitely more dangerous to conſpire againſt a Prince, than againſt a Common-wealth. For, allowing the Plot ſhould ſucceed, the Conſpirators cannot expect to eſcape Puniſhment, if the Prince were belov'd by his Subjects: And we have a remarkable Proof of this in the Reſentment that purſued the Murther of *Julius Cæſar*, where every one of the Aſſaſſins were ſacrificed by the Rage and Arms of the People, except thoſe who in deſpair deſtroy'd themſelves.

BUT where a Prince is either ſo *wicked*, or ſo *unfortunate*, as to provoke a general Hate againſt him, he muſt, of Conſequence, have injur'd ſome particular Perſons more than the reſt; who, no doubt, will ſeek all Opportunities of doing themſelves right againſt him. Theſe, being encourag'd by the general Diſaffection

* Ad Generum Cereris ſine Cæde & ſanguine pauci
Deſcendunt Reges, & ſiccâ morte Tyranni. *Juven.*

which

which they ſee towards him, form to themſelves, in the firſt place, hopes of Succeſs, or of Impunity, at worſt, if they happen to miſcarry. Yet, even in this Caſe, there is great Danger in the concerting and Execution of a Plot; either the Cowardice, Indiſcretion, or Treachery of ſome in the Secret very often betrays all.

MACHIAVEL, I remember, gives it for his Opinion that it is ſafer for Princes to injure Men in their *Lives*, than in their *Fortunes*; for he obſerves, that dead Men cannot think of Revenge, and the living ſoon forget the dead: But you cannot diſtreſs a Man ſo in his Circumſtances, as totally to deprive him of the Power of Revenge. The pooreſt Man will find a Knife for a deſperate Blow; and he that feels the Cruelty and Oppreſſion of Tyranny, will become a dangerous Enemy, whenever Opportunity preſents its ſelf. It is therefore a hazardous thing for a Prince to drive Men to deſpair; ſince he, who once is brought to deſpiſe his own Life, is certainly Maſter of another Man's. *Philip* of *Macedon* was kill'd by *Pauſanias* in the midſt of his Guards; and ſo was *Harry* the *Fourth* of *France* by *Ravilliac*. Examples, indeed, of this extravagant Daring are but few; for a regard to Self-preſervation is natural to Man in all Circumſtances of Life, and it ſeldom happens that we chuſe to run upon certain Death.

BUT, of all ſorts of Conſpiracies, none are ſo dangerous to a Prince, as thoſe carried on by Perſons intruſted with his Secrets. The ſame great *Politician*, whom I but now mention'd, adviſes a Prince to have a more watchful Eye over thoſe whom he has oblig'd by many Benefits, than over thoſe whom he has as ſignally injur'd. For by giving the *Firſt* Wealth and Power, he puts them in a Condition of ruining him, if they prove wicked or ungrateful: And it is often ſeen, that Avarice and Ambition will carry ſome Men as far as Revenge will carry others.

THE *Favourites* of a Prince know the weak-ſide of his Affairs, ſee whether his Footing be ſlippery, and can lay hold of the proper Occaſion to give him a Trip: While others, who by diſtance from his Truſt and Counſels, know nothing of his Weakneſſes, vent their Reſentments only by curſing and railing at a bad Prince, and proceed no further. It is obſervable therefore, that the moſt ſucceſsful Conſpiracies have been manag'd by Perſons in the Boſom of the Prince: At *Rome*, for inſtance,

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he Emperor *Commodus* was deſtroy'd by *Martia*, his arling Miſtreſs, and *Lætus* and *Electus*, his two greateſt avourites; at home, ſcarce an *Engliſhman* is ignorant ow far King *James* the *Second* was betrayed by a *cer-ain Lord*, who was his firſt *Secretary*, and at the Head f his Cabinet-Councils. Theſe were inrich'd and dig-ify'd with Honours, and yet, as if they were oppreſs'd ith too many Favours, conſpir'd againſt their Maſters; fawn'd upon them, while they were working their uins, and betray'd them, while they were ſolliciting ew Gratifications. It puts me in mind of a fine turn in *Shakeſpear*, where ſpeaking of the Fears that attended plots, and what Diſguiſes they needed to obſcure the Brow of Treaſon, he cries,

——— *Seek none, Conſpiracy;*
Hide it in Smiles, and Affability:
For if thou put thy Native Semblance on,
Not Erebus *it-ſelf were dim enough*
to hide thee from Prevention!

THEREFORE I ſay, of all Treaſons, That works the ureſt, which puts on the Mask of Love and Friendſhip.

I COME now to ſpeak a word of *Conſpiracies* againſt a *Common-wealth* or *People*. Theſe, as I have before-hinted, re concerted and carried on with *leſs Danger* and *Hazard* to the *Conſpirators*: but, at the ſame time, are attended with *greater* Circumſtances of *Villany* in the *Actors*. For the People cannot injure particular Men as a Prince may, not having the Power in their Hands; and in thoſe States, where the People have any ſhare in the Govern-ment, it is to be obſerv'd, that they are very tender of private Property. But they who generally conſpire a-gainſt the People, are Perſons who have the Admini-ſtration over them; who, perhaps, are back'd with a ſtanding Army commanded and led by their own Crea-tures, and maintain'd at the Charge of that People whom they are employ'd to deſtroy. Thus the Treaſon being acted againſt no Principal (for the People are nothing without a Head) meets with very little Difficulty in the bringing about. Treaſon againſt the Prince is execu-ted either by Poyſon, or the Sword; becauſe in many Caſes his Power ends not but with his Life: But there is no ſuch thing in executing Treaſon againſt the Peo-ple by the ſame Inſtruments, becauſe it is impoſſible to Maſſacre or Poyſon a whole Nation: Therefore it is

perpetrated by ſome *Fraud*: when it is againſt thei *Wealth*; or by *Terror*, when it is againſt their *Liberti* But, in either of theſe Caſes, where the perſons conſpi ring have the Reins of Government in their Hands, an have ſtanding Troops at their Devotion, they incur n great Danger of Puniſhment. In Countries, where th Government is *mixt*, as was that of *Sparta*, who had bot a *King* and their *Ephori*; if the governing Men ſhoul have once ventur'd to deſtroy the Liberty of the Pe ple, it is probable they would not have ſtopp'd there but would likewiſe have ruin'd the Prince, or made hi a Tool to their Arbitrary Schemes: Both which the might have eaſily brought to paſs, being ſo ſtrengthen' with Power, and thereby made capable of ſecuring them ſelves from Puniſhment.

THIS may be a Leſſon of ſome Moment to Prince both in regard to themſelves and their Subjects, (whoſ Welfare ought to be connective and dependant on eac other, and whoſe Intereſts, conſequently, ſhould be inſe parable and the ſame) not to truſt and parcel out thei Power indiſcreetly; eſpecially thoſe Branches of it, which relate nearly to the Prerogative of the Crown, or Wealt and Property of the Subject. For a People can neithe be happy nor flouriſhing, where their Prince's Hand are tied, and his Will of doing Service circumſcrib'd by Inability: And, on the other Hand, let Prerogative b never ſo ample and uncontroul'd, if the Riches of hi Subjects are once drain'd, and their Spirits impoveriſh'd with their Fortunes, the Prince there graſps but an empty and precarious Scepter.

I CANNOT eaſily forget, or omit, here the Senti ments of *MACHIAVEL*, which ſeem to have a Relation to the Matter which I am now handling. 'Tis plain the great *Politician* thought, that the *perſonal Virtues* of a Prince were not eſſential, or of ſuch Moment to his King dom, as his *Care* and *Wiſdom* in appointing *good* and *ho neſt Miniſters* of *State*. And therefore, in his *Chapter* touching SECRETARIES, he has thrown in ſome Rules for the diſtinguiſhing a good Miniſter, and for the keep ing him ſo: *When you ſee*, (ſays he,) *the Servant ſtudy more for his own Advantage than yours, and that in all his Actions he ſearches moſt after his own Profit, the Man ſo qualified ſhall never prove a good Servant, nor can you ever rely upon him: For he that holds the Stern of the State,*

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ught never to call Home his Cares to his own Particular, ut give himself wholly over to his Prince's Service, nor ver put him in Mind of any thing not appertaining to Him. nd on the other side, the Prince to keep him good to him, ught to honour, inrich, and oblige his Servant, giving him art both of Dignities and Offices, to the End that the many onours and much Wealth bestow'd on him, may restrain him om desiring other Honours and other Wealth, and that those any Charges cause him to fear Changes that may happen, nowing his own Safety is dependant on that of his Master.

THERE have been, and certainly will be, as long as he World lasts, a Set of Men, who, as * *Livy* expresses , value nothing in Comparison with Wealth, and think here can be no Access to either Honour or Virtue, but or the Man who is immoderately rich. These, of all eople should be restrain'd from hurting the Publick in ffice.

BUT, to draw my Subject into a narrower Compass;

THE Hinges on which most generally all *Conspiracies* e turn'd, are either the LUXURY of an overgrown tate, that labours for a proper Vent to its Humours; e POVERTY of a People drain'd and exhausted, that vet *Innovation* to repair and recruit them; the AMBI-ION of some popular and factious *Ministers*, who think hemselves confin'd within too narrow a Sphere of Pow-; or some raging and incurable DISCONTENTS gainst the Persons at the *Helm*, who, having once lost e Love and Opinion of their Subjects, seldom boast a ng and stable *Administration*. And, from which ever f these Causes a Common-wealth is rent and dissever'd, here always happens something so flagrant and uncom-on in the Means of bringing it about, as startles the inds of the impartial and unconcern'd Spectators.

NOR must I forget to add, among the other Causes, e fatal Consequences that have attended those States, here too large a Portion of Power has been committed to *mean* and *improper* Hands: For the Views of *Plebei-*, however elevated above their own Dirt by *accidential romotions*, are *sordid* and *griping*; and the Rule of their roceedings is always to *grasp* at *other* Men's *Properties*, *swell* their *own Fortunes* higher. But notwithstanding

* Qui omnia humania præ divitiis spernunt, neque honori magno cum, neque Virtuti putant esse, nisi effusæ affluant Opes. *Liv. l.* 3. 26.

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this is ſo known and obvious, they are frequently up either thro' *Envy* or *Indiſcretion*, and preferr'd, publick Affairs, to others both of more *Ability* to *execute*, and *Honour* to *grace*, their Offices. For it happe in all Ages and Countries, as *SALUST*, who was hi ſelf of the People s Side, has delicately obſerv'd, *Regi boni quam* mali *ſuſpectiores ſunt, ſemperque his aliena V tus formidoloſa eſt*; *that* honeſt *Men are more ſuſpected th* Knaves *by moſt Princes, and to* ſuch *Potentates anothe* Virtue *is ever a* Scare-crow. *

TO enter more regularly upon the Hiſtory of t wicked and dangerous Conſpiracy, which took Name from its Principal *CATILINE*, and which ſigned no leſs than the Ruin and Overthrow of beſt eſtabliſh'd Government in the World; it will proper to make ſome Remarks on the Condition of Common-wealth of *Rome*, at the Time when ſuch a C ſpiracy took its Riſe: For ſo every Reader will be a to make this uſeful Obſervation, That a *Common-wea* like a *human Body*, when its *Conſtitution* is once *br into* and *corrupted*, and thoſe *Miniſters* who ſhould g it *Strength* and *Nouriſhment*, are become *vicious* and *rot* it is prepar'd to receive *any Infection*: And a Scar, wh would not be felt or ſeen on a ſound Body, will deſt that which is already diſtemper'd.

NEVER was a greater Fall from Virtue, and ev thing that was worthy, upon the Record of Hiſto than that of this *Great* but *Infamous* People! Th who were, at firſt, intent on the Protection of th Country, and Defence of their Allies; who deligh more in Arms, and Steeds of War, than idle Feaſts a effeminate Luxury; they, whoſe greateſt Emulation Glory, who ſtrove to be foremoſt in Mounting the Bre and counted ſuch an Action to Riches, Reputation, Nobility: Who were greedy of Fame, but liberal their Corn; degenerated, at laſt, into Eaſe and In lence? gave way to mean Ambitions and meaner A rice; and ſunk into all the contrary Extremes of V and Luxury, and every ſort of Debauchery. From ving been ſevere in Virtue, rigid in their Morals, ſtrict in their Piety, Prophaneneſs now began to be courag'd, the Myſteries of Religion and the Worſhi the Gods were exploded and ridicul'd. The Drols Buffoons of the Age laugh'd at Notions of Sanctity,

took this Way of recommending themſelves to the Great, in order to be preferr'd in their Fortunes. It was become the peculiar Characteriſtick of Wit to ſneer at Things ſacred, and even the Ignorant and Fooliſh (who made up the greater Number) had Recourſe to this impious Practice of Affronting the Gods, for Want of other diſtinguiſhing Parts, whereby to make themſelves taken Notice of. It became a Piece of *Policy* to cultivate a Contempt of the *Prieſt-hood:* And the *Power*, they once had of accuſing thoſe who were guilty of Irreverence towards the Gods, was ſo ſuſpended, that it was in a manner *quite taken away*.

NOW, it is very eaſy to account why this Libertiniſm was ſo encourag'd by ſeveral of the Great Men of the Times: They knew very well, that every Religion was grounded upon, and maintain'd by ſome vertuous Principles: That Man, whoſe Nature is frail and prone to Corruption, muſt be aw'd by ſome Belief of future Rewards and Puniſhments: And therefore Religion was the ſtrongeſt Tye to Morality. They had obſerv'd, in reading the Hiſtory of their Great Anceſtors, that the Common-wealth had maintain'd its Liberty by its Adherence to Religion: For it was thought, an Impiety towards the Gods, to endeavour to ſubvert that Conſtitution which they had eſtabliſh'd.

THUS the Great Men, who were Lovers of their Country, by ſhewing the People Examples of their high Reverence to the Gods, kept them virtuous and united. And it is owing to the ſame Cauſe, that for many Ages, thoſe, who attempted any thing againſt the publick Liberty, always periſh'd in their Corruption. But the *Magiſtrates* of theſe Days, having Views quite different from thoſe of their Great and Virtuous Anceſtors, took as different Meaſures in their *Adminiſtration:* Luxury and Avarice having poſſeſs'd their whole Hearts, all their *Schemes* and *Projects* tended to *raiſe themſelves* on the *Ruin* of the *Publick:* And the more ſurely to corrupt the Honeſty of the Times, they perſwaded the People that Religion was nothing but the Craft and Juggle of Prieſts: Well knowing, if this Notion prevail'd, the People thinking themſelves bound by no Ties of Conſcience, would ſoon lay aſide the Incumbrance of their Morals: And being once addicted to Impiety, they might eaſily gain over a licentious Party, wicked enough to join with them in the Deſtruction of the People. THESE,

THESE, no Doubts, were the Reaſons that induc'd them to propagate Atheiſm; and the Conſequence often anſwer'd the Deſign propos'd. For being corrupted in the Fundamentals, good Principles abated in them every Day; and the exalted Notions, which they before had of Honour, now terminated in Schemes to accumulate a Fortune. And, as * *SALUST* obſerves, *Poſtquam Divitiæ honori eſſe cæperunt, & eas Gloria, Imperium, Potentia ſequebatur; hebeſcere Virtus, Paupertas probro haberi, Innocentia pro Malivolentiâ duci cæpit. As ſoon as Riches once began to be in Honour, and Glory, Power, and Preferment, were the Conſequences of a great Eſtate; Virtue ſicken'd and fell off in their Opinion, Narrowneſs of Circumſtances was eſteem'd a Diſgrace, and even Innocence of Life an Invidious Reproach on the Conduct of their Betters.*

HOW thoroughly Avarice had overturn'd their Principles, becauſe Example in all Caſes goes beyond Precept and Declamation, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew from One Inſtance of as general Corruption (if you will allow it poſſible) as has lately happen'd among Us.

'.' *MICIPSA*, the King of the *Numidians*, dying, left his Kingdom to his two Sons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, and to *Jugurtha*, his Brother's Son, whom he had adopted. *Jugurtha* ſoon ſurpriz'd his Couſin *Hiempſal* by a Stratagem, kill'd him in the Night, and ſo remov'd one of his Partners in Empire: Nor had *Adherbal* far'd better, if he had not taken the Alarm, and put himſelf on the Defence, and afterwards fled to *Rome* for Refuge.

JUGURTHA, being ſenſible how much Avarice and Injuſtice had crept into the City, (1) and having no other Hopes of diverting the Reſentments of *Rome* than by the Force of *his* Money and *their* Avarice, diſpatch'd his Ambaſſadors thither with large Preſents, which had ſuch Effects upon the *Senate*, (2) and wrought ſuch a Change in their Minds, that, from the higheſt Pitch of Hatred and Deteſtation, he got into the higheſt Favour and Reſpect with the *Patricians*. They proceeded ſo effectually in his Intereſt, that they decreed

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* In Bello Catilinario. '.' T. Livius in Epit. lib. LXII.

(1) Neque adversùs iram ejus usquàm, niſi in avaritiâ nobilitatis, & pecuniâ ſuâ, ſpem habere. *Saluſt.* in bello Jugurthino.

(2) Tanta Commutatio inceſſit, ut ex maximâ invidiâ in gratiam & favorem Nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. Idem ibid.

him

him half the Kingdom, and ſent him Ten *Commiſſioners* to divide it between him and *Adherbal* (3).

(4) THE *Commiſſioners*, thinking they might lawfully imitate their Maſters in the Senate, were alſo *brib'd* to beſtow the moſt rich and populous Part upon *Jugurtha*: But he ſtill unſatisfied with a Rival in Power, fell ſuddenly upon *Adherbal*, beſieg'd him in *Cirta*, (5) and getting him into his Hands, firſt tortures, and (as *Livy* tells us, (6) *contrà denunciationem Senatus*) againſt the expreſs Injunction of the Senate, puts him to Death.

LET us ſee now, what was the Conſequence of this Indignity. The Senate are provok'd, and a War is decreed againſt *Jugurtha*. This Affair is committed to the management of *Calpurnius Beſtia* the Conſul, who invades *Numidia* with great Vigour and Diligence, takes ſome Towns, but is ſoon ſtop'd in his Career, being overcome by the *Golden Weapons* of *Jugurtha*. (7)

THE Senate are a little ſurpriz'd and mov'd at this, and at the Conduct of *Scaurus*, who accompanying the Conſul as his Friend and Counſellor, and who had been an inveterate Enemy to *Jugurtha*, was likewiſe *guilty* of the *ſame Crime*. (8)

TO put a ſtop to theſe Steps of Corruption, *Caſſius Longinus*, the *Prætor*, is ſent, to procure *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome* upon the publick Faith of the State, that ſo they might diſcover all ſuch as had been guilty of BRIBERY (9)

JUGURTHA is with much Difficulty perſuaded to make tryal of the Clemency of *Rome*, and to throw himſelf upon the People's Mercy: Whereupon he appears in the ſupplicating Habit, and is no ſooner brought before the Aſſembly, but *Bæbius* the *Tribune* bids him hold

(3) Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipſa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Adherbalem dividerent. Idem. ibid.

(4) In diviſione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro viri que opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur. Idem. ibid.

(5) Igitur Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat. Id. ibid.

(6) Liv. in Epit. li. 64.

(7) Animus æger avaritiâ facilè converſus eſt. Sall. in bell. Jugur.

(8) Quitametſi à principiò pleriſq; ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrumè regem impugnaverat, tamen, magnitudine pecuniæ, & bonò, honeſtòq; in pravum abſtractus eſt. Idem. ibid.

(9) Eumq; interpoſitâ fide publicâ, Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arceſſebant, delicta patefierent.

his

his peace, he being also *brib'd* to defer the Business, and delude the People. (10)

UPON this *Jugurtha* is in a few days order'd from *Rome*, and follow'd by the Consul *Albinus* with an Army: But the Consul soon leaving his Forces with his Brother *Aulus*, by Virtue of some *Compact*, he withdraws them from the Town where the chief Treasure of the Kingdom lay, when he was just upon investing it. (11)

THE *Centurions* were likewise so *corrupted*, that when *Albinus* return'd, *Jugurtha* was suffer'd to break into their Camp: Whence beating out the Army, he either *forc'd*, or by *Agreement* too, brought *Albinus* to submit upon most dishonourable Terms. (12)

I KNOW very well these Corruptions, which *Rome* gave way to from the Hands of *Jugurtha*, fell out some little time before the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, but it was at a time when the same infamous Politicks began to prevail, and qualified them for more Flagitious Practises. *Rome* it-self, as * *Plutarch* takes notice, was in the most dangerous Inclination to change, by reason of the unequal Distribution of its Wealth, for Persons of the greatest Honour and Spirit had made themselves poor by Ambition of Offices, sumptuous Buildings, and the like; and by these means the Riches of the City were fallen into the Hands of *mean* and *despicable* Persons: So that there wanted but little Weight to remove the Seat of Affairs, it being in the Power of every daring Man to overturn a sickly Common-wealth.

CATILINE was not a Stranger to the Luxury and Vices of the State, nor to the Sentiments of the Factious and Discontented Nobles, who wish'd to see their Country worse imbroil'd than it had been by the late Revolution, brought about by the Arms and Ambition of *Sylla*.

WHEN once the Constitution of any State is subverted, *Innovation*, like the *Hydra*'s Heads, sprouts out into new Changes. All Parties cannot be satisfied with one Scheme

(10) C. Bæbius Tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum suprà diximus, regem tacere jubet.

(11) Deniq; Aulum spe factionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule (ubi regis Thesauri erant) in abditas regiones sese, velut cedentem, insequeretur.

(12) Centuriones, ducesq; turmarum, partim, uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signo dato, uti locum desererent. &c. Idem ibid.

* In Vitâ M. T. Ciceronis.

f Government, and the Malecontents will ſtill be pra-
iſing to alter the Meaſure they diſlike. Some have too
uch Wealth, and others too great Preferments, either
f which is an Eye-ſore to the Man of narrow Circum-
ances, and who has no Promotions to better his Fortune.
atiline, who was of a towring ambitious Spirit, aim'd
ore at providing for his *Luxuries*, than his *Wants*:
he Paſſions of *Avarice* and *Prehemінence* equally in-
am'd him: His Pride could not digeſt the Repulſes he
et with in his ſtanding for Offices, and his partial Opi-
ion of his own Merit, that was neglected, made him ſo
r envy the ſucceſsful Dignity of others, that, as *Porcius*
atro expreſſes it, *the Luſt of his Wickedneſs centred in plun-*
ering the Subſtance, and oppreſſing the Liberty, of the whole
ity. †

THO' he was ſubtle and crafty by Nature, yet he had
ot all that Cunning which he was ſuppos'd to be Maſter
f from his accuſtom'd *Taciturnity*; Silence being the beſt
iſguiſe either to hide good Senſe, or the Want of it.
onſidering with himſelf that the great Deſigns he had
n view, no leſs in Effect than the ruin of the People of
ome, could not be brought about by himſelf alone, but
hat it was the Work of more Villains than one, and
herefore there would be a Neceſſity of ſeveral under-Ma-
hines; he caſt his Eyes about the City to find out thoſe
omans of the moſt vicious and profligate Lives, and the
moſt deſperate Fortunes; with both which at this time
he City abounded. Such Men as theſe he judg'd would
e equal to the Miſchief he had to perpetrate; for 'tis
ot to be wonder'd, that they, who have neither Fame
or Fortune to loſe, who had been bred up in Luxury
nd Riot, and were eager for Rapine and Plunder, ſhould
eel no Remorſe at trampling over the Necks of their
ellow Citizens, if they ſtood in their way to Preferment.
aving therefore attach'd himſelf to ſeveral of theſe,
hey joyn'd together in a cloſe, but moſt enormous, Con-
piracy: And the firſt Step which they judg'd moſt neceſ-
ry and eſſential, was to work themſelves into all the pro-
table Offices of the Republick; that having at their
ommand the *Treaſure* of their Country, they might de-

† Hujus Sceleris Libido repoſita erat in diripiundis omnium
ivium facultatibus, atq; opprimendâ urbis Libertate. Porc.
atro in Declam. contra Catilin.

ſtroy her with her *own Strength*. The *firſt* Part of the Scheme they eaſily brought to paſs by *cabalking* with t *Citizens*, and the *latter* they very near effected, as will b evident in the Sequence of this Hiſtory.

IT may be very material to my Subject to take Notic while this *Faction* preſided over the publick Affairs, b what Maxims and Artifices of *infamous* Policy they l bour'd to extirpate and root out that little Virtue whi was left among the People.

I AM told it has been a common Practice in Surger where any great Limb is to be cut off, to begin wi giving a ſtrong *Opiat* to the Patient, to take off the Fe ing and Apprehenſion of what he was going to ſuffe And ſuch was the Method of theſe *political Operato* they were to adminiſter quieting Draughts of Pleaſu to dull the *ſenſitive* Faculties of the *State*, to divert the from dwelling too intently on their Caſe, that th might have the better Opportunity of *cutting clean*, a not ſtartle their Patients with the *Size* of their *Kn* or the *Inciſion* that they were to make with it.

ONE of the Methods of *Stupefaction*, which they thoug fit to practiſe, was the exhibiting *new* and *extravag* Entertainments. For this End *foreign Strolers*, *Songſte* and *Buffoons*, were ſent for and invited to ſettle in *Ro* Theſe Artiſts, the Generality of whom had ſubmitted *Eunuchiſm* for the Benefit of a Voice, were hired a ſupported at the moſt extravagant Charge: Some them having Penſions equal to the Pay of a *Prætor*, General of the *Legions*: They had their *Litters* and the *Slaves*, their *Baths* and their *Perfumes*, and the Privile of an *intimate Acceſs* to the *greateſt Man* in *Rome*; whe an honeſt Citizen, who had any Grievance to compla of, might attend without Redreſs, or ſo much as bein admitted to an Audience. The voluntary Contribution which were made towards the ſupporting theſe Cre tures in State, were very large, and their Shews an Spectacles were govern'd and order'd by a Set of va PATRICIANS then in Power, who took Care that n Repreſentation ſhould be exhibited to the People, bu ſuch as incited effeminate Paſſions and ſoft Deſires: T the End that Vice and Indolence might ſteal into the Souls imperceptibly, and they might be ſo overcome b the Charms of Luxury, as not to be awake either to the Virtue or Danger.

THI

THIS Extravagance of Diverſion was ſeconded by nother, as *expenſive*, but more *profligate* and *licentious* in s Nature. A Diverſion, that gave ſo great an Umbrage *publick Scandal*, that tho' the People of the firſt Cha-cter zealouſly eſpous'd it, the *Pontifex Maximus*, or IGH PRIEST, was oblig'd in Decency to make ſome epreſentations againſt it, 'tho' he had afterwards the *oneſly* to make One, as it was too generally ſuſpected, this *notorious Conſpiracy*. This Entertainment, of which am now ſpeaking, was of a kind unknown before to e *Romans*: A Midnight Revel, where both Sexes met ſtrange Diſguiſes; ſuch as *Centaurs*, *Satyrs*, *Sylvans*, d the like; and convers'd with the utmoſt Freedom, ithout being ſuppos'd to know each other's Sex or uality. The whole Stream of the People fell into this mpting Debauchery; neither Years, nor Wiſdom, nor eaſon, reſtrain'd them from indulging in a Pleaſure at promis'd ſuch a Variety of Satisfaction. For, as *Nicolaus de Clemangis* deſcribes it, *Nec ſola juventus, & provectior ætas vitiis juvenilibus ita eſſet implicata, luxui lubricæque diſſolutioni non dies ſufficeret, nocles pe ludo ac choreis inſomnes tranſigerent*, &c. *Viri ſui ſexus liti in muliebremque reſoluti mollitiem, fœmineo ſe ritu unt; compti, & ad ſpeculum compoſiti domo prodeunt au- & gemmis onuſti: Fœminæ a Natura propria degeneres irilem induerunt audaciam. Not only the giddy Youth, but erſons advanc'd in Years, were ſo intangled in theſe juvenile ces, that the Day was not ſufficient for their Luxury and iſſoluteneſs, but they often paſt whole Nights without Sleep Dancing and Gaming. The Men forgetting the Dignity their Sex, and ſunk into a Womaniſh-Softneſs, like that ex, were dreſs'd and adorn'd as the Looking glaſs, and went t glittering with a Weight of Gold and Jewels; the Wo-en, on the other Hand, relinquiſhing their natural Mo-eſty, put on an Affectation of Maſculine Aſſurance.* CI-ERO, whoſe Voice was of ſuch Authority in other aſes, prevail'd nothing againſt the Violence of their ffection to theſe Sports; he could not diſcountenance heſe unſeaſonable Riotings, tho' he declar'd in open Se-ate that Dancing was but the Shadow of Luxury; eaning, as a Learned Man has been pleas'd to inter-ret him, that as there is no Shadow without a Sub-

* In ejus Epiſtola. LIV.

ſtance

ſtance to cauſe it, ſo there can be no Dancings without a Foundation of Luxury: *Quod ſicuti umbra ibi non ſit ubi non ſit corpus; ita nec Saltatio reperiatur, niſi ubi ſit Luxuria.* *

IT was ſuppoſed by the graver Sort at firſt, that this was a Contrivance only for Cabals and Plotting; but in effect, it was intended for the Propagation of Lewdneſs, and to work their more remote Deſigns by Poyſoning the State with a general Taint of Debauchery. For now, by the Induſtry of theſe Governors, all the Vices of *Aſia* were improv'd at *Rome*.

AND this Sort of Policy work'd a very notable Effect in Favour of their Cauſe; for the People being as it were ſtupified with Shews, Feaſts, Vanity, Luxury, and every Branch of Effeminacy, had not Leiſure to think of, or look into, their Condition, to examine the *intricate* Adminiſtration of their Governors, or ſee the Tyranny and Ruin that was ſtealing over them; So that they were undone before they knew it; they wak'd as it were from a Golden Dream, and found themſelves in the utmoſt Danger of being deſtroy'd. But theſe Governors very well knew, that tho' the *Romans* above all other People, were remarkable for a virtuous Love of Liberty; yet if they once came to be govern'd by an Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power, they would by degrees fall off from that Affection to their Country: For Luxury and Indolence are the things that beſt prepare the Minds of Men for Slavery, and reconcile them to Meanneſs and Servitude.

IT may be very material, (tho' it is a Task of Difficulty, and much Trouble, at this diſtance of Time) to characterize the Perſons, that ſo infamouſly diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in this Conſpiracy.

LUCIUS Sergius Cataline was himſelf deſcended from a *Patrician* Family, his Father bearing the ſame Name, and having likewiſe borne ſome Offices in the Common-wealth. At his Death, he left behind him rather the Character of a *cunning* than of an *honeſt* Man; for he had not carried himſelf with Integrity in the Offices he held, but had, as it was afterwards well known, betray'd the Secrets of the Common-wealth to its Enemies. Therefore the People bore a kind of Hatred to

* Vide Rivinum de Majumis, Maicampis, & Roncaliis.

the Name of the Family, and it became a common Phraſe in the Mouths of the People, when any great Man in Office was ſuſpected of betraying the State, (which was common in thoſe Days) to ſay, *he'll prove another* Catiline.

BY this it may be ſeen, that the *Cataline* whoſe Hiſtory I am now penning, came into the World with the Prejudice of the People, nor did he ever, 'tis certain, take any Pains to remove that Prejudice. He was ſo far from being belov'd by his Fellow-Citizens, that he improv'd the Hatred towards his Family, and not without Cauſe? For he had none of thoſe Virtues in his Soul, which recommend a Man; being neither generous, compaſſionate, friendly, nor a lover of the Populace; but ſullen and reſerv'd in his Temper, a very little Talker, and very ſeldom obſerv'd to ſmile; wherefore he was not an agreeable Companion even in his Pleaſures.

I MUST obviate one Objection here, which is, that I may ſeem to falſify the Accounts of ſome Hiſtorians in relation to his want of Generoſity; for * *SALUST* ſays expreſly, that he was *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, very *greedy* of what belong'd to *others*, very *profuſe* of what was his *own*. But this Generoſity of his muſt be underſtood as to his *Largeſſes* and *Briberies*, to carry any Point: There, indeed, he was not only liberal, but extravagant. The Cauſe of the *Faction*, in which he choſe to imbark himſelf, was to be advanc'd and eſtabliſh'd by *Præmiums*, but this was at beſt a *deſigning Liberality*, a *Trick* of his *Policy*, and not a *Virtue* of his *Temper*.

AS to his Perſon, he was of a middle Stature, and ſomething inclin'd to Corpulency; but Nature had not adorn'd his Mien or Countenance with any Grace or taking Beauty. There was ſo fixt and ſettled *Sowreneſs* in his Face, which made an Impreſſion upon the Beholders at firſt Sight, much to his *Diſadvantage*, and prepoſſeſs'd Men with a Notion of his being *ill-temper'd*.

IT is the Trick of Nature ſometimes to hang out Colours, as it were, and to write the Paſſions and Inclinations of the Soul in expreſſive Characters upon the Lines and Muſcles of the Face: And Men put ſo ſtrong a Belief on thoſe external Marks of Virtue, or Vice, that when they behold a Man whom the Gods have mark'd,

* In bellô Catilinariô.

as they uſed to term it, act and behave himſelf with Juſtice and Benevolence towards Mankind, they will not be perſuaded to believe it the Effect of Vertue; but rather to proceed from Diſſimulation, in order to carry on ſome wicked Deſign.

BE this as it may, it is certain that *Cataline*'s Face did no way bely his Soul. If he look'd crafty, viſcious, ſowre, or envious, he certainly was ſo, and we need no clearer a Proof than an Appeal to the Actions. Hiſtory has not been very particular as to his Education, but as ſoon as he came to Man's Eſtate, we find, he thruſt himſelf into *Factions* and *Cabals*; and herded with thoſe, who were for embroiling the Publick, only with private views of preferring themſelves.

HE Married ſeveral times, but chiefly, as People ſuſpected, for the Convenience of ſtrengthening himſelf by *Alliances* with *Great Men*, rather than out of any Affection for the *Ladies*. For if we may believe ſome Authors, he had a moſt *unnatural* Taſte in his *Gallantries:* And in thoſe Hours when he gave a Looſe to Love, the Women were wholly excluded from his Embraces. * *Omitto peſtis hujus impuriſſimas Voces, molliciem ſcenicam, obtuitus impudicos, blanditias muliebres, & omnem denique copiam non mediocrium vitiorum*, &c. There are ſome Vices, which give too groſs Ideas, to be repeated by the Names that are affix'd to them. 'Tis certain, however odd and unnatural his Lewdneſs was, (yet it was a notorious Practice among ſome great Men of that Age) and ſome of his *Ganymedes* were pamper'd and ſupported at a high Rate at his Expence; and this Profuſeneſs, excepting only in *Briberies*, was the kind in which he moſt indulg'd himſelf.

THE chief of his Inſtruments, as the moſt active in *palliating* the Conſpiracy, when diſcover'd, was *M. Hortenſius*, He was a buſie Senator of no great Family or Fortune; but the little Patrimony, which deſcended to him from his Anceſtors, he had waſted by promoting *Factions* in the Common-wealth, which he repair'd again by *publick Offices*. He had been prefer'd and diſgrac'd, and diſgrac'd and prefer'd again, according as the Factions, which he eſpous'd, prevail'd or were diſappointed. When in Office, he was ever Tyrannical and Arbitrary; when

* Porcius Latro in Declam. contrà Catilinam.

diſcarded,

diſcarded, buſy and intrigueing in order to replace himſelf.

BY his Reach in Politicks, and artful Inſinuations, he made himſelf Head of a Party of *mercenary* Senators, whom he led as he pleas'd: For 'tis ſaid of him, that he had an equal Addreſs at *giving* or at *taking* a *Bribe*. Thus he made himſelf of Conſequence to a Faction, and puſh'd things with ſo much Earneſtneſs and Inclination, that it was ſurmis'd, he conniv'd at the *Gallantries* of his *Wife*, to engage ſome of her *Lovers* in his *Deſigns*.

HE had been formerly *impriſon'd* and *expell'd* the *Senate* for taking *Bribes* in his *Office*, yet this was no great Let to his after-Preferments; for that Practice was now grown ſo *general* and *familiar*, that People forgot ſo much as to *bluſh* for it. And to give more pregnant Inſtances of his *Integrity*, it was his Cuſtom, whenever any thing was propounded in the Senate, to appear very *violent* on *one* ſide, in order to be *brib'd off* by the *other*. And thus it was that he behav'd in this Affair, for 'tis certain that he was not a *Principal* in this *Conſpiracy*, nor any Inſtrument in the plotting or carrying it on; for he at firſt ſeem'd to *proſecute* it as is before hinted, till he afterwards chang'd ſides for Reaſons obvious enough to be gueſs'd at, and which we ſhall account for anon; and then he became as *ſtrenuous* in *Skreening* the Conſpirators from the *Puniſhments*, which *CATO* and other Senators, of ſevere Morals, preſs'd to have inflicted. The Talents, which would have moſt turn'd to his Praiſe, had he not perverted and abus'd them, were, that he was well vers'd in the Learning of the times, and was accounted a very good Orator, ſo that his Harangues were always ſure of being receiv'd with Attention.

LUCIUS Beſtia, was no inconſiderable Party in this Conſpiracy; he was at firſt an ordinary Pleader at the Bar, but having a very good Knack of Oratory, and being eſteem'd to know very well the Laws of the Republick, he ſoon piec'd out the meanneſs of his Fortunes by the aſſiſtance of his Endowments; and made ſhift to advance himſelf by the Troubles of the Common-wealth. The promoting of Diſſention in the State, and City, was the common Method Men took then of making themſelves conſiderable; And as Affairs ſtood, he muſt have been a wretched Incendiary indeed, that could not be carreſs'd by one Party or other.

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THE Common-wealth, in ſhort, was uſed like an Enemy's Country, upon the Plunder of which every one expected to make his private Fortune. *Beſtia* did not fail to make his Advantage out of ſuch Commotions, but, buſtling thro' Factions, got himſelf into one of her Seats of Preferment. Here he had an Opportunity of gratifying all his Vices; one of which was a Notorious *Partiality* in the *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*. For he was uſed to ſtretch and torture the Law to his own Conſtruction, and wreſt its meaning to the Injury of Perſons who were not of his own Faction; ſo that he became the Terror of *honeſt* Men. At his firſt ſetting out, and puſhing for promotion, he attach'd himſelf to an oppoſite Party, but finding the Intereſts of it to decline and run low, that its Advocates were oppreſs'd, and not very likely to retrieve their Ground; He turn'd his Back upon his unſucceſsful Choice, and follow'd Fortune; joyning himſelf to that *Faction*, which, tho' not the moſt *juſt*, was nevertheleſs the moſt *proſperous*.

TO theſe was join'd in their pernicious League, *Caius Cornelius Cethegus*, a Man, as * *Plutarch* ſays, inſolent in his Conduct, and vicious in his Morals. Authors, I find, differ pretty widely concerning his Original; ſome aſſerting that he was of the *Cornelian* Family bred to Letters, and deſign'd for the Bar; but others informing us that he was only a *Gladiator*, and of ſo baſe and mean extraction, that his Parents were obſcure enough not to be known in their own Country.

HOWEVER, when he once came to be advanc'd in the Common-wealth, and to have ſome Honours conferr'd upon him, he labour'd pretty heartily to make a Figure, and being vain-glorious in his Temper, he took a great deal of Pains to deduce his Original from *Somebody*, which occaſion'd a great many Jeſts to be thrown out upon him. But his Vanity render'd him yet more contemptible than the Meanneſs of his Birth; he began to grow conſiderable, from his ſerving in the Army under the Command of *Marcus Craſſus*, the moſt *avaritious* Perſon of all the *Romans*. By him was *Cethegus* often employ'd in raiſing and collecting *Contributions*, and being very active in the Camp, he advanc'd himſelf by juſt Degrees, and, could he have eſtabliſh'd the Chara-

* In Vitâ Luculli. Porc. Latro contrà Catilinam.

ſter

ter of Virtue too, gain'd the Reputation of a valiant nd expert Soldier. As he grew into Command, his ride and Oſtentation ſhew'd themſelves more flagrant- : And it was obſerv'd of him, that he generally wore is Veſt richer than any of the Patricians, having it dorn'd with Embroidery of Gold or Silver: And this e did to force as it were a Reſpect from the Vulgar, who knowing the Meanneſs of his Deſcent, look'd upn him to be no better than one of themſelves.

CAIUS VERRES, another who was deep in the cheme of this *flagitious* Plot, was no more than a *Bondman*, or *emancipated* Slave at firſt. Hiſtory is not exreſs in the Circumſtances either of what Parents he was, where he was born, or from whence he came. Nor s the Enquiry of any Moment, any more than it would e to examine why he was call'd *Verres*.

¶ The *Romans*, we know, were uſed to give the *Cognomen* or Family-Name, from the Temper of Mind; rom external Marks, or Qualities of the Body; or from ome Events and Change in Fortune. Thus the Names of *Cato* and *Frugi* were beſtow'd on the Account of Wiſdom and Virtue; *Africanus*, *Capitolinus*, *Fælix*, &c. rom Conqueſts obtain'd and Accidents of Fortune; *Cicero*, *Macer*, *Celer*, and the like, from Marks, and Qualiies of the Body. And by theſe Rules of Cuſtom, *Verres* might probably obtain his Title from his *ſordid* and *hogiſh* Diſpoſition: As *Verres* among the old *Romans* ſignified a *Swine*, or *Boar-Pig*.[*]

BEFORE he came to be diſtinguiſh'd in the *Political* World, he had run thro' ſeveral mean and ſervile Offices of Life, and amongſt the reſt had exercis'd the Trade of a *Barber*. Who can help being aſtoniſh'd, that the Deſtruction of the braveſt People in the World was to be brought about by ſuch vile and contemptible Inſtruments!

HOW he came to be known to, or eſpous'd by *Mar-*

† Cognomina Familiarum alii aliundè repetunt, quæ tamen ut rem paucis expediam ad tria quaſi capita revocari poſſunt: ità ut alia ab animo, alia à corpore alia à fortunâ ducantur. Ad animum verò pertinent virtutes, mores, oratio, artes ſtudia res geſtæ, &c. ad corpus, partes corporis, color veſtitûs habitus cum altero ſimilitudo; & alia ejuſdem generis. Ad fortunam & caſum cætera. *Cantelius* de Roman. Republ.

[*] Vid. Iſidori Gloſſ. vetus.

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cus Craſſus, I cannot pretend to trace from Hiſtory; but being obſerv'd to be a crafty, buſy, and deſigning Fellow, he was employ'd by him in diſpoſing of his Money to *Uſury*: And *Marcus Craſſus*, being unwilling the People ſhould diſcover his great Wealth, becauſe the greateſt Part of it was not very honourably acquir'd, found this *Verres* extremely uſeful to him, both for the *Concealment* and *Improvement* of his Eſtate. It was his being in this Secret then, in all Probability, that laid the Foundation of his great Fortune.

WHEN *Marcus Craſſus* commanded the Army of the *Romans*, this *Verres* with others was employ'd in furniſhing *Cloaths* for the *Soldiers*, and was afterwards queſtion'd for *embezzelling* ſome of the Money.

NOT long after this Detection of his *Honeſty*, he was employ'd to *bribe* certain Senators for their *Votes* to the *paſſing* of an *Edict*: He was choſe out for this Work as being known to be a Fellow void of Shame, and not to be put out of Countenance at a Diſcovery. Here he was again call'd to the Queſtion; a ſly Senator, in an Ironical Speech, declaring himſelf in Favour of *that* Law, but telling the Houſe at the ſame Time, that, *No doubt they would wonder at his being on that Side of the Queſtion; but that he had very powerful Reaſons to produce them for his Opinion*; and, with that, produc'd the *Bribe* to the *Senate*, and without Scruple inform'd them from whoſe Hands he had receiv'd it.

THESE glaring Inſtances of *Corruption* in the Conduct of *Verres*, for which at *honeſter* Times he would have been baniſh'd the Common-wealth, were now the Qualifications that recommended him to Preferment. For when Virtue and Honour no longer preſided over publick Affairs, but the City was govern'd by Faction and Avarice, the Views of Men in Power no more regarding the Good of the State, but their own ſordid Intereſt, they had ever ſome vile Buſineſs on Foot, and of Conſequence they wanted *dirty Tools* to go thro' with their *dirty Work*.

FOR ſuch Virtues as theſe was *Verres* firſt taken Notice of and careſs'd; and by entering into the Myſteries of a *wicked* Faction, was advanc'd to an Office both of *Honour* and *Profit*: in which he acquir'd Wealth and Power, and ſeem'd to want nothing but *Honeſty* and *Content*. I ſay, Content, becauſe his Avarice was ne-

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ver to be ſatisfied: For in all the Degrees of his riſing Fortune, he maintain'd the abject Mind of a Slave, his Thoughts being ever in the Dirt; ſo, in Order to graſp what was impoſſible, Wealth enough to content his craving Soul, he became a Principal in this Conſpiracy.

VERRES had one Favourite Son, who, tho' he did not inherit all his Father's Vices, had a Stock of others peculiar to himſelf. He was a brisk, forward Perſon, of a great Aſſurance, and as Authors deſcribe him *parum pudicus*, neither modeſt in his Countenance, nor his Conduct. His Education was of the meaneſt, he was vers'd in no polite Literature, nor had ſtudied *Oratory*, or the *Greek* Tongue, the darling Embelliſhments and Learning of the Times: But, like a Vagabond, had paſs'd his Youth in the Company of *Stage-players*, *Mimicks*, *Tumblers*, and *Rope-dancers*; and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a publick Manner by his Amours with a *Minſtrel*, or *Dancing-Woman*.

IT was thought at firſt that his greateſt Ambition was to become a *Stage-player* himſelf, he often practiſing thoſe Antick Geſtures and Songs, which he had learn'd by being continually in their Company. Theſe Qualifications render'd his Converſation very agreeable to a Number of luxurious Young *Romans*, who minded nothing but Pleaſures and Riots.

BUT while he kept this irregular Company, an Accident happen'd that might have been of fatal Conſequence, but which, however, ended well enough: For being in the Streets of *Rome*, one Night with *Pandarus* the Tragedian, one of his darling Aſſociates, a Citizen of *Rome* was Murther'd in the Dark, and it was ſuppos'd by the Sword of *Pandarus*. The Affair was examin'd into, but Young *Verres* ſo manag'd his Evidence, in Juſtification of *Pandarus*, that he was immediately acquitted by the Judges. This Accident alarm'd old *Verres* ſo far, that he threaten'd his Son, if he did not forſake that Company, to ſend him into *Aſia*. Whether the Son obey'd, or no, is not very evident; but, by a Circumſtance that happen'd after this, we are left to ſuppoſe he did not.

FOR *Marcus Craſſus*, being one Evening at the Theatre, and ſeeing the *Dancing-Woman* before-mention'd, who was Young and Fair, perform her Part with ſeveral Geſtures and Motions deſign'd to move Deſire; and being

being to depart for his *Province* in a few Days; it is said, that he sent for Young *Verres*, and imparted his Desire of enjoying this Woman to the Youth; who so manag'd the Affair, that she soon follow'd *Crassus* to his *Province*; nay, and as some affirm, was conducted thither by Young *Verres*.

BY this Action he not only highly oblig'd *Marcus Crassus*, but gave a Specimen of his Readiness for any Enterprize which led to his *Interest*. *Crassus* was not only immensely Rich, but very Great in the Commonwealth, and had it in his Power to prefer every one who had any Pretensions to his Favour. Nor was it uncommon in those Days, for Slaves and other mean Persons to be advanc'd in their Fortunes and promoted to Dignity, only by being privy to the Vices of Great Men. Nor in an Age of Corruption and Degeneracy are any Persons encourag'd, or caress'd by the Great so much, as the vile Instruments of their Pleasure.

THUS Young *Verres* gain'd extraordinary Preferment by the only Means in the World that should have barr'd him from it: And a senseless Irregularity, back'd with pushing Assurance, gain'd him all the Advantages of Wisdom and Experience. A Jigg and a merry Song were as meritorious in him, as the deepest and most important Schemes of Politicks would have been in another: As if being a Buffoon was the Thing that qualified a Man best for a grave Employment.

BUT *Marcus Cato*, tho' he liv'd in this luxurious Age, was of a different Opinion: For he oppos'd *Murænam*, when he stood for the Consulship, by objecting that he had been in *Asia*, and was a *Lancer*. For Dancing was accounted such a Levity, as only was excusable in the Mad-man and Drunkard, and therefore not to be admitted in a State-Officer. It was look'd upon, by the People of Gravity and Morals, to follow only at the Heels of intemperate Feasting, to suit with Hours and Places of idle Pleasure, and the utmost Effeminacy. * It was one of the Luxuries that was deriv'd to *Rome* from her *Asiatick* Conquests, and therefore *Cato* judg'd

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* Nemo enim ferè saltat sobrius, nisi fortè insanit, neq; in solitudine, neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Intempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, Saltatio. *Cic.* pro Murænâ.

that

that a Man, who could ſpend any Time in practiſing ſuch an Exerciſe, was not worthy to rule as a *Magiſtrate* over a wiſe and valiant People.

CATO, therefore, was no ways inſtrumental in the Advancement of Young *Verres*; the Faction, by which he was rais'd, were of another Genius and Spirit, and found out a new Maxim in Politicks, which was, that a *Drole* in his proper Place might make a very *accompliſh'd States-man.* For it being their Buſineſs to gain over the Voices of the Senators to back their Schemes, * *Catiline*, for that End, had order'd his aſſur'd Friends to ſound and find out their darling Vices; that each might be gratified in the *Weakneſs* of their ſeveral *Paſſions*, or that *Taſte* of *Wickedneſs* in which their *Hearts* moſt delighted. The *Avaritious* therefore were drawn in by the Engagement of a *Bribe*, the *luxurious Appetites* with a *ſumptuous Entertainment*: The *Sports-men* were preſented with *Hunting-Dogs* and *Horſes*; and the *Sporters*, in *another* way, were furniſh'd with Choice of the moſt *exquiſite Harlots.* For ſome Men will certainly do as much for a *Feaſt* or a *Harlot*, as others will do for a *Bribe* or *Preferment*: And thus baited, they often gave their Suffrages without knowing wherefore, or for what Reaſon.

THE ſearching out of Tempers, and adapting theſe Allurements, was one of the Provinces of Young *Verres*, and which, they ſay, he diſcharg'd with Abundance of Addreſs.

WHAT *Saluſt* remark'd of *Catiline* himſelf, might as juſtly be applied to young *Verres*, that he was graſping and deſirous of other People's Money, but profuſe of his own. It is ſaid, that he was liberal both with Reaſon, and without it: And tho' he was very eager in the Purſuit of Wealth, he ſquander'd it away again in Luxury and Vanity.

AS he had given ſo many Proofs of the Looſeneſs of his Morals and want of Integrity, ſo neither did he want to eſtabliſh any Character in the Point of Religion: But rather labour'd to convince the People, that he had as little Veneration for the Gods, as the Faſhion of the

* Uti cujuſque Studium ex ætate flagrabat. aliis ſcorta præbere aliis canes, atque equos mercari; poſtremò neque ſumptui, neque, modeſtiæ ſuæ parcere, dùm illos obnoxios, fidoſque ſibi faceret. *Sal.* in bello Catilin.

Times

Times ſeem'd to diſpenſe with, and as his Conduct in other Parts of Life requir'd him to have. And one notorious Inſtance of his Impiety appear'd to the Populace, who judge beſt by ſuch publick Teſtimonies, in that having taken a Piece of Ground which belong'd to the People, with Deſign to build himſelf a Houſe there, it happen'd that a *Temple* dedicated to one of the Gods ſtood upon Part of his Ground which he had hir'd: Young *Verres* immediately inclos'd the whole Spot, modell'd out his Building, demoliſh'd the old Temple, and on its Foundations laid a new Structure, in which he deſign'd to entertain his Gueſts with Midnight Dances.

LENTULUS Sura, was a Perſon of no extraordinary Dignity in the Common-wealth, however got into Office by the Intereſt of *SULPITIUS* a *Patrician*, who was his Kinſman: And having no great Foundation of Fortune, he willingly imbark'd in this Conſpiracy, with Hopes to inrich himſelf by the Spoils of the People.

QUINTUS Annius, was a buſy Senator of a ſhatter'd Fortune, who by changing Sides, and adhering ſtill to the ſtrongeſt, got into Offices of great Honour and Profit; having the Management of a great Part of the Publick Monies, and likewiſe expecting to grow very wealthy all at once, he fell in and was ſubſervient to the Meaſures of the Conſpirators, among whom he ſoon became a Principal.

WHAT gave the greateſt Alarm and Surprize, when the Diſcovery of this pernicious Deſign broke out, and the minuteſt Circumſtances came to an *Eclairciſement*, was to find, that the *Pontifex Maximus*, or *venerable* HIGH-PRIEST was alſo ſuſpected of conniving at their Crimes. Whether he were at firſt a Principal, or not, was not ſo evident; but moſt agreed, that he was not. The Faction, it ſeems, finding he might be uſeful to them, by Reaſon of his Character and great Authority, won him over by a *conſiderable* BRIBE, to entertain a good Opinion of their *Probity* and *Deſign*.

THESE were the Leeches, that were to ſuck up the Wealth of the People of *Rome*; theſe, the Tools and Inſtruments that were to unhinge the *publick Liberty* and *Conſtitution* of the *State*, *Crudeliſſimum hominum Genus, & ab omni penitus humanitate derelictum*, as *Porcius Latro* ſtiles them: A moſt barbarous and abandon'd Set of Men, that relinquiſh'd and ſhook Hands with all Notions of Humanity.

Humanity. Many of them, as we have ſeen, were contemptible for the Meanneſs of their Deſcent, but much more contemptible by their Vices and Character. To conſider them in their true Light, we ſhall find they were of Principles and Capacity ſuitable to the Cauſe in which they were engag'd, Nor did there want a Tribe of *leſs* Figure, and more *mechanick* Qualifications, who were aſſiſting to them in ſeveral Parts of their deteſted Schemes. They knew that dull Brains might perform ſome Offices beſt, and with leaſt Suſpition of any latent Views. And what has Oratory, what have the Arts and Sciences to do in the Execution of Rapine, Fraud, or Oppreſſion; A Man may make an exquiſite Cheat, without having ſtudied the Flowers of *Demoſthenes*; and be able to give a BRIBE *ex more Majorum*, without reading the Laws of *Solon* or *Licurgus*.

CATILINE therefore ſhew'd that he underſtood Men, when he cull'd and ſelected ſuch as were moſt *profligate* and *degenerate* in their *Morals*, and where guilty of no *Scruples* ariſing from *offended Vertue*, or the *Stings* of *Conſcience*; Since, if he had happen'd to have made choice of one Honeſt *Roman* in the Beginning of his Scheme, it might have prevented all the Workings of the Faction, who were to ſupport and aggrandize themſelves on the ruin of their fellow Citizens.

WE have run thro', I think, the Characters of the *principal* Projectors, and Agents in this inhumane Conſpiracy, the Maſter-Engines that firſt put this Miſchief into Action, and gave it Motion. But there were other *latent* and *conceal'd* Adherents, Men of the firſt Rank for Quality and Power, (whom ſince *Cicero* declin'd to name to the *Senate*, I ſhall forbear to brand here with Ignominy) whom the Hope of being at the very Top of Affairs, rather than any Neceſſity, or Want of Fortune, drew in. *

IT cannot be expected, neither would it be of any Conſequence, to decipher the *ſubordinate* and *inferior* Tools, the *Plebian* Rogues, that were diſtinguiſh'd by no Titles, nor dignified with any Offices, or Honours in the State, but whoſe *vile Aſſiſtance* was abſolutely neceſſary in bring-

* Erant præterea complures paulò occultius conſilii hujus Participes, quos magis dominationis ſpes hortabatur, quàm inopia, aut alia Neceſſitudo.

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ing about this Deſtruction, and who therefore were to be *gratified* with a *Divident* of the *Spoil*.

AMONGST this infamous Scum of the Conſpirators, I cannot, however, help taking notice, that there were ſome *Women*, * who by proſtituting themſelves were ſupported at a moſt expenſive and extravagant Rate. In this Number, of moſt Eminence, were *Aurelia Oriſtilla Sempronia* and her two Neices, and *Fulvia*, a kind of Bawd or Procureſs. Theſe were all *foreign* Concubines, but *Inmates* in *Rome*, and came either from *Gaul* or *Belgia*.

CATILINE had alſo let into the Secret a Number of other Foreigners, who, he knew would readily enter into any Deſign againſt the *Romans*; partly on account of the eſtabliſh'd Hatred betwixt them and the City, and partly on the Proſpect of inriching themſelves by the illegal Plunder.

THERE were at that time in *Rome* ſeveral of the *Allobroges*, a People of *Gaul* and *Germany*, to whom *Catiline* made himſelf a Patron, by promoting their Intereſt, and that of their Country. The Negotiations of theſe People were concerted and tranſacted between *Catiline* and *Vulturius*, one of their Chiefs, and who, before his Reſidence at *Rome*, had come thither as an *Embaſſador* from his State. *Vulturius*, great as he was in his Republick, and as much as he was careſs'd by the ſervile *Patricians* at *Rome*, preferr'd the Reputation of Policy and Depth of Intrigue, to the Oſtentation of making a Figure. His Head and Heart were ever employ'd to aggrandize the Affairs of the *Allobroges*, and as one probable Step towards it would be to drain the Treaſures of *Rome*, it was thought that *Catiline* took all his Meaſures and Schemes of his Conſpiracy from the *Plans* and *Counſels* which the *ſubtle* VOLTURTIUS laid down to him. Theſe People therefore were admitted into the Cabal, and made of the Conſpiracy, theſe were to have a large ſhare of the Wealth of *Rome*; and in return they had ingag'd to have an *Army* of *Barbarians* ready to march to *Rome*, when their Plot ſhould be executed, in order to keep the Populace in Awe.

THERE was a Law among the *Romans*, that none ſhould be capable of Employments in the Common-wealth, except the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and other *Natives* of *Italy*.

* Mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentes ſumptus ſtupro corporis toleraverant. Sal. in bellô Catilin.

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This Law, therefore, excluding these Foreigners from holding Offices, they by being at the Head of this Faction, and by that Interest capacitated to dispose of Offices, set up a Trade of selling the Employments of the Commonwealth for large Sums of Money. The *foreign Courtizans* were, Particularly, great Dealers in this kind of Traffick; and *Money* went to them as to a *Market*, where, as in other Markets, without any Respect of Persons the *best Bidder* was sure to be the *Purchaser*.

NAY, so general, and well-known was this Commerce, that in some Cases, their very Female *Attendants* took upon them to *bargain* for publick Places: Those Damsels, who were retain'd to receive the Gallants, and dispose Matters for the Mysteries of Love were haunted with the *Sollicitations* of *depending Candidates*; and Business of the Senate, which made a Hurry in the City, was often transacted by the intriguing Head of a *Strumpet's Chamber-maid*. *FULVIA* had a very large share in this Trade, and great Court was continually made to her: Being a *Lady* of *extensive Parts* and *large Capacity*, she had the more Power of obliging her Suiters: And according to the Strength of their *Purses* or their *Inclinations*, would procure them either a *good Employment*, or a *Maiden-head*.

IT would be pretty hard to determine, what it was that attach'd Men so much to these *foreign* Women, they being no way desirable for their Beauty (and Beauty has been ever look'd upon as one of the greatest Merits in that Sex) they had neither that Delicacy of Shape, that Air, or Elegance of Features, which charm'd you in the *Roman* Ladies: but were course and masculine; and those monstrous *Protuberancies* of *Breasts* which were seen in all of them, were likelier to move Disgust, than inspire Love. If they had any Charms, they were remote from sight, and known only to their Lovers: But it became modish now to affect things that were *exotic*; therefore all the Account or Reason which I can find to be given for this depray'd Taste, was, that *ugly Women* were then *in Fashion*.

I MUST pass by, as I before observ'd, the other *inferior* Abettors of this Conspiracy; they being so obscure in Fame, that they never had been mention'd in any History, were it not that they had a share in this flagitious Plot. Let it suffice to say, that when they were swoln to a Number sufficient to begin the

Work, frequent Meetings were held to conſult upon the proper Meaſures for bringing about their grand Deſign.

IT was at one of theſe Meetings, that *Catiline* made that celebrated Speech, the Subſtance of which we find at large in *Saluſt* and others; and which gives us a great Light into the Views and Reaches of the Faction. The whole Speech, which I judge to have been deliver'd at their firſt Meeting, would be too long to be crowded into this Pamphlet; therefore I ſhall only give the moſt material Heads, and throw them into the beſt Method I can, to give the Reader an Underſtanding and Inſight into the monſtrous Aims of this Party.

The Speech of CATILINE to the *Conſpirators*.

Moſt Noble *Romans*,

* *BUT that I know you all, and have approv'd, the Strength of your Virtues and Conſtancy, and mighty Spirits by which your generous Souls are actuated, this glorious Opportunity had vainly fall'n into our Hands, and theſe Schemes of Graſping Power been, at beſt, but an idle and ill-grounded Hope. You are all acquainted with the Cauſe of this our Meeting, and every* Roman *hat imparted to his Friend in private the Subſtance of what I am now about to offer.*

Look on the Common-wealth, *my Friends, as you would on a* Proſtitute, *that is enjoy'd and defil'd by each* contending Party, *as it is in their Turn to prevail. This is our Turn, and let us keep her Ours: For if ſome Giant of the State ſhould riſe, ſtrong in the Affections of the vile and giddy Multitude, and back'd with popular Applauſe, whoſe Arm might be of Force to hurl us from this Eminence, ſay,* Romans, *where ſhall we hide our Heads? Shall not we grow degraded, poor, and deſpis'd? Oppreſs'd with Wants at home, and Debts abroad? Scorn'd by the proud, and ſcoff'd at by the Vulgar? Trembling beneath the* Rods *and* Axes *of new Magiſtrates, and laſtly,* ſa-

* Ni Virtus, Fideſque, veſtra ſatis ſpectata mihi foret, nequicquam opportuna res cecidiſſet; ſpes magna dominationis in manibus fruſtrà fuiſſet, &c.

crific'd

crific'd to popular Reſentments? ——— *But ſure, there is not a* Roman *in all this Aſſembly, who would not chuſe to* die *rather than Loſe with ſhame, what he had got by his* glorious Ambition. — *But why do I talk of Death? I call the Gods to witneſs, the Power is in our hands; the Means of Safety our own. The Guardian Gods of* Rome *have left the City; the Senate ſeems to ſleep; a kind of Lethargy is over them: They neither* hear, *nor* ſee, *nor* underſtand, *but what we* dictate. *Let them ſleep on, my worthy Friends, nor may they ever wake, till wak'd by Ruin.*

WHAT then is wanting but to begin the Buſineſs, when the Succeſs of the Event is certain? Methinks, I know your Hearts, I ſee into your Souls, and there behold the ſame Affections, Appetites, and Paſſions, which govern mine: There is a kind of Sympathy betwixt gallant Spirits, and that it is which now gives me this Boldneſs, firſt, to propoſe, then, to lead you to an Enterprize, which in ſpight of all the haughty Courages in Rome, *ſhall place you high above the Reach of* Puniſhment.

THEN rouſe, my Friends, and meet Dominion and Command: Fortune ſeems in a wanton Fit; ſhe's even prodigal to favour our Deſigns, and courts us all with Honour, Wealth, and Power. Methinks, tho' I were dumb, the Opportunity, your common ſafety, and the rich Spoil of Thouſands, were call enough to make you ſnatch the happy Hour, which time may never produce again. But ſay, Romans, *were there Danger in this Enterprize, is not the Advantage worthy of ſome Hazards? Does not the Wealth of Nations flow into* Rome, *and here reſt as in its proper Centre? Are not her* Nobles, Senators, *nay,* Plebeians, *cloath'd in Gold? Is ſhe not drunk with Luxury and Pleaſure? So giddy, that ſhe does not know her ſelf? Say, then,* Romans, *is there a Heart in all this Circle ſo little* Roman, *as to raiſe a Phantom, and from an Image of a groundleſs Danger? Are not the* Legions *all at our Command? the* Prætors, Tribunes *and* Centurions, *our own? Have not our Friends, the* Allobroges, *here preſent, already muſter'd an Hoſt of* Diſciplin'd Barbarians, *who ſhall march to* Rome *when we give the Word, to curb and tame that moſt unruly Beaſt, the Multitude, ſhould it preſume to ſpurn at our Authority? And, laſtly, to give a* Credit *and* Sanction *to our* Cauſe, *does not the* Pontifex Maximus *himſelf, the venerable* Father *and* Head *of our* Religion, *eſpouſe*

our

our Schemes, and assist their Fortune with his Prayers *and* Counsels ?

THINK then the Business done; imagine you see the whole Herd of Senators dispoil'd, and every proud luxurious Roman *stripp'd of his Pride, and humbled with his Wants; the* Lictors Fasces, Axes, *all at your Command: Your Palaces crowded with your Clients, waiting and bowing at a distance for a Smile; the Ambassadors of conquer'd Nations suing and kneeling to you as to the Gods, and even tributary Kings courting your Assistance. Your Wealth will know no End, nor will even Prodigality it-self, with all the witty Luxury of Men, be able to weary it out. Whose will the whole World be, but yours? All that the Avarice of our Ancestors has been Ages in heaping up, will be yours at one happy Stroke: Nor shall a* Roman *eat, or breath, but by our Permission.*——— This *Province shall be allotted to bold* Cethegus, That *to* Lentulus: Rome *to Us All. Is there a Palace which you would possess, or an Enemy whom you would kill? Is there a Beauty you would enjoy? Whose Wife, whose Daughter, or whose Boy shall be found in* Rome, *that the glad Husband and willing Parents will not be proud to bring to your Embraces, and make a Merit of their Infamy. We having the Wealth, all Things else will be subservient to Us: For Wealth commands more than the Immortal Gods: The whole Universe obeys it; the Neck of* Rome *is fitted for our Servitude, and the Iron-Yoke of Power is forg'd, that shall bind her down to Subjection.*

THEN, in Spight of hated Cato, *or, that new Fellow* Cicero, *whose* Fasces *shall be trodden in the Dirt, we will proceed in our Enterprize. Let them bellow out for Liberty, till they crack the Walls of the Senate, yet they shall perish in their boasted Virtue. Ambition is a Burthen too great for such weak Minds as these; it takes its place in noble Spirits, whose Thoughts are in the Stars; it is the Virtue of the Gods and God-like Men.*

SINCE then propitious Fortune puts it to our Choice either to command *or* obey, *to lead the World, or to be led as Slaves; say, Confederates, is there a Man in all this noble Crowd, who would become a voluntary Slave? If there be One, let him go forth into the* Forum, *and give his Neck up to the inglorious Yoke; let him drag out a miserable Life, exposed to Want, and Infamy, and Scorn,——— No,——— your generous Minds disdain the ignobie Thought; I read a forward and aspiring Genius thro' every Look around*

Me:

Me: Therefore I need not ask your Approbations; Wealth, Glory, and Succeſs, be with you all, my Friends; and be ſure of Catiline *both for your Friend and Servant.*

I DON'T remember in Hiſtory an Harangue made up with more Art, and Inſinuation than This of *Catiline*; eſpecially if we conſider the Perſons to whom it was addreſs'd.

HE animates them to the vileſt Depredations and moſt flagrant Crimes, with Notions of Glory and Honour: But the Baits and Temptations, which he threw in their Way, ſhew'd that he underſtood the Depravity of Nature, and knew how to ſtrike in with all its Appetites. He conſidered them as a Crew of profligate and abondon'd Wretches, and therefore very cunningly ſpeaks to their Vices. He tells them of Wealth, of Power, and of Revenge; of raiſing their Intereſts, and deſtroying their Enemies; of commanding what Women and Boys they lik'd; giving them in this a Touch of his *own Taſte*, but very ſlily avoiding to declare what his own particular Views were.

HIS Speech therefore met with a general Approbation, as they had but one Mind among them all, that is to ſay, one *wicked* Mind to *deſtroy* their Country. But, in Reſpect of Friendſhip one to another, they had no Tie or Diſpoſition to it, any longer than their common Intereſt or Safety obliged them to unite. For a Friendſhip grounded upon Virtue is the only laſting Friendſhip; but theirs having no Foundation, but, a *political Confederacy* to carry on *Miſchief* and *Ruin*, every one of them had ſome *private* Views of his own, independant of his *Fellow-Thieves*: So that it would not be improper to ſay that, at that Time, there were as many *Conſpiracies* againſt the *State* as there were *Men* in *Office*.

CATILINE, † having ended his Speech, as it is reported by ſeveral Authors, took the Blood of a Man, whom he had cauſed to be murther'd for that Purpoſe, and having mix'd it with Wine, drank a

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* Fuêre eâ tempeſtate qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum populares ſceleris ſui adigeret, humani corporis ſanguinem vino permixtum, in pateris circumtuliſſe. *Saluſt.* in Bell. Catilin. Vide etiam Lucium Florum, Dion. Caſſ. Tertull. in Apologet. &c.

Draught

Draught of it to the Conſpirators, and made it be carried round to them in Cups, ſuch as were uſed at the moſt ſolemn Sacrifices. With this horrid Ceremony, each took an Oath of Secrecy to the other, binding themſelves not to give the leaſt Hint to any Perſon, tho' it were to ſave a Father, Brother, or moſt intimate Friend from inevitable Deſtruction. So that, by this Confederacy, all the Ties of Blood and Nature were to be cut off; the deareſt and moſt tender Unions to be broke; and Friend and Foe to be ſacrific'd to their Schemes without Diſtinction.

THEY proceeded next upon the proper Meaſures of executing their Plot; the Reſolution was, as may be ſeen by *Catiline*'s Speech, to ſeize upon the *Wealth* of all the People of *Rome*, and *ſhare* it among *themſelves*. Thereupon, *Portions* and *Dividends* were appointed and mark'd out for each Man according to his Dignity.

BUT as every private Man's Riches were not to be diſcover'd, while they were in his own Hands, they made uſe of a *Stratagem* to incline the People to bring forth their Money *voluntarily*, and that was by publiſhing a Propoſal to give a moſt *extravagant* Intereſt for Money, and *this* upon the *publick Faith*. The Avarice of that Age was ſo tempted by this *Bait*, that not only the *Roman* Citizens, but People from all Parts of the Empire, *crowded* to diſpoſe of their *Money* upon this *profitable Scheme*.

WHEN they had by this Contrivance got into their Poſſeſſion the Wealth of the *Roman* Empire, they purchaſed the *Lands* and *Palaces* of the *Patricians* and others: but the very *Sums*, with which they made ſuch *Purchaſes*, ſoon return'd into their Hands again: For the Hope of extravagant Gain had ſo *infatuated* the People of that Age, they ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in *ſelling* their *hereditary Patrimonies*, to raiſe an *imaginary* Fortune by this *new* and *promiſing* Adventure.

THO' they had got into their Poſſeſſion whatever they could aim at, yet ſo haſty and violent were our Conſpirators in their Graſpings, that they minded nothing but *catching* at the *Spoil*: Even before the *Scheme*, that was to *ſecure* them in the *Poſſeſſion* of their Plunder was brought to Maturity; which, no doubt, was the *overturning* the *Liberty* of the *Common-wealth*, and ſetting up ſome *other Form* of *Government*. THESE

THESE Proceedings alarm'd ſeveral of the *wiſe* and *honeſt* Men of the City, particularly *CATO*, and *CICERO* the Orator: Who mov'd the Senate concerning theſe Things, upon Suſpicion of the lurking Miſchiefs that lay at the Bottom of their Proceedings. Upon this, ſeveral of the *inferior* Agents of the Party were *apprehended* and *examin'd*; among the reſt, one *Quintus Curius*, who had been a buſy Inſtrument in the moſt *ſecret* and *roguiſh* Part of their Tranſactions. By him the Senate were let into a moſt horrid and ſurprizing Scene of Villany; yet, when the *Conſpirators* came upon their Trials, I don't find that he *ever* appear'd, not even againſt *Catiline* himſelf; which made it currently ſuſpected, that he was *carried off*, or *ſpirited* out of the Way by the *Contrivance* of the *ſecret* Abettors of this Conſpiracy.

NEW Diſcoveries, however, were every Day made againſt the Conſpirators, and the *honeſt* Part of the Senate judg'd the Proofs ſo *ſtrong*, that it was neceſſary to free their Country from theſe Vipers, who had done more Miſchief than all the Devaſtations of *Marius* and *Sylla*, or any the moſt bitter foreign Enemies to the *Roman* State.

BUT now the moſt ſurprizing Part of the Hiſtory begins to open: For the Conſpirators aware how Things were going, thought it Time to beſtir themſelves in their Defence: And as they were Maſters of all the Money in the City, and knew the Corruption of the Age and of the People, they did not deſpair of coming off in Spight of Conviction.

CATILINE, therefore, whoſe Cunning never forſook him at a Pinch, caſt about with all his Induſtry for the proper Means to ſave both their Lives and Fortunes; which he knew could not be done without firſt *ſecuring* a *Majority* of the *Senate* in their Favour. In order to this, the Aſſiſtance of *Hortenſius* now became eſſential, with whom he had been at the greateſt Variance for a conſiderable Time: For, by his Intrigue and Intereſt, he had ſo far oppos'd *Hortenſius*, as utterly to throw him out of all Office. But conſidering the Nature of the Man from a Circumſtance before cited, which happen'd when he was *Quæſtor*, or *Treaſurer* of the *Army*, he believ'd there was a Way to *touch his Paſſions*: they coming, therefore, to a Conference upon

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on the Subject, *Hortenſius* was ſo mov'd with the *Strength* of *Catiline*'s Arguments, that the forgiving Man laid aſide all Reſentments, and undertook to *ſkreen* the *Conſpirators* from *Puniſhment*.

UPON this the Conſpirators once again took Heart, and grew ſo bold, that not one of them fled in Apprehenſion of the Conſequences: They knew well, that when their *own* Party was joyn'd to *that* of *Hortenſius*, it would turn the Scale of the *Senate* in their Favour.

NOTWITHSTANDING this new Amity ſtruck up betwixt *Hortenſius* and *Catiline*, the Reaſon of which every body pretended to interpret, the honeſt Party proceeded vigorouſly in their Proſecutions, and however they ſhould be *overpower'd* with *Numbers*, were reſolv'd at leaſt to ſhew an *Inclination* of *ſerving* their Country.

THE firſt, who was queſtion'd upon the *Villanies* of this Conſpiracy, was *Lentulus Sura*, and he was charg'd with being a Principal. Many of the Witneſſes prov'd that he had taken an immenſe Sum of the People's Money; but what avail the ſtrongeſt Proofs, where Men are prepoſſeſs'd, and determin'd to acquit? After many Harangues made on both ſides, *Sura* was clear'd by the *Majority* of *two* Suffrages.

IT is impoſſible to expreſs what a Damp was ſtruck upon the Spirits of the People, when this was known thro' the City: But what added to their general Melancholy, was, that *Cicero* the Orator, and even *Cato* himſelf *went out of the Senate before the Trial of* Sura *was over*; whereby they gave the malignant Party the Advantage of two Voices. It look'd, indeed, as if Juſtice was fled from Men, and *Bribery* had driven Virtue quite out of the Senate.

WHETHER they did this thro' a Contempt of the Proceedings, or thro' Deſpair of doing any good, is altogether uncertain; but by their Conduct afterwards they clear'd themſelves from all the Suſpicions that were at firſt advanc'd. For *CATO* pen'd ſeveral vehement Harangues, writ with a noble and maſculine Eloquence, and which ſeem'd to have in them a Taſte of the Spirit of old *Rome*, when it enjoy'd its Liberty. Theſe were all ſign'd with the Name of *CATO*, and diſpers'd publickly among the People: The De-

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ign of them was to *expose* the *Guilt* and *Villany* of the *Conspirators*, and, if Possible, to *shame* the *Senators* from *ding* with them.

BUT Corruption was now grown so common nd publick among great Men, that it almost ceas'd to e thought infamous; and all the Virtue that was left n *Rome* was in the common People. This *Lentulus ura* understood so well, that when he was acquitted f the Prosecution by the Majority of two, asis be-ore-mention'd, he having brib'd some of his Judges, e was so free to complain to his Friends, *That the Money which he gave to one of them was a needless Charge, nce one Suffrage would have been sufficient to have clear'd im.*

THE next, who came upon Trial, was *Quintus Annius*, and now Affairs took another very unexpect-d Turn; for by what happen'd in the Case of *Len-ulus Sura*, there were but small Hopes of any of the Delinquents being brought to Justice. For whether t was that *Hortensius* had any private Grudge to *Annius*, r whether the Faction thought it advisable in good Policy to suffer *one* of their *Members* to be *sacrific'd* to ppease the *popular Fury*; it is certain, that *Annius* was ound guilty of every Fact laid to his Charge, which ave no small Content to the suffering Multitude. For a Dawn of Hope now began to shine again in *Rome*, and Liberty seem'd, as it were, to rear its droop-ng Head. It was thought, the malignant Party were osing Ground apace in the Senate; the People expect-d not only to see their Wrongs reveng'd by the *Death* f the *Conspirators*, but *Restitution* made them, for what ad been so *notoriously plunder'd* from them.

IT now began to be the Discourse, that *Sura* should gain be call'd to Question, nor be allow'd to plead is former Acquittal, in Disappointment of the Senate's enquiries, since, as it appear'd to Men, they were atisfied of his Guilt. But this Interval of Joy was f a short continuance, nor did it in the least terrify *Catiline*, who by his own Management, and that of *Hortensius*, had made all safe in Respect to himself. For

* Frustra, inquit, impensum quod alteri Judicum datum est; atis quippe erat, si unâ tantum sententiâ solutus abiissem. Plut u vitâ Tull. Ciceronis.

Hortenſius, now was like an hir'd Stage-Player, who being paid for acting, is oblig'd to act whatever Parts are aſſign'd him, without regarding whether the Characters he repreſents, make him the *Patriot* or *Betrayer* of his *Country*.

THE day, that was appointed for *Catiline's* Trial, now being at hand, this great Maſter in ſubtilty, to ſhew how well he could diſſemble, appear'd in the Senate, attended by *Hortenſius*, with all the Tranquillity of an innocent Man, who was fearleſs of any thing being imputed to him.

CICERO with his accuſtom'd Eloquence, open'd the Charge againſt him, alledging, that in all his Converſation with the Bar, he had never met with ſtronger Proofs againſt any Man, in any Cauſe either Civil or Criminal: And then addreſſing himſelf to the Senate, he added, *If a Proof that amounts to certainty from all its Circumſtances, be of any Weight with you*, Catiline *muſt be found guilty in your Sentence.* This was anſwer'd by *Hortenſius* in a palliating Harangue; in which he complimented the Criminal upon his *Integrity* and *clear Hands*; and endeavour'd to leſſen the Credit of the Evidence againſt him. And after *Hortenſius* had finiſh'd the Defence, *Porcius Latro* ſeeing which way things were likely to go, ſtood up, and with much Oratory exaggerated the Charge; ſaying, *if ſuch Crimes were unpuniſh'd, perhaps, it would be the laſt time that ever the Gods would put it in their Power to ſerve their Country.*

BUT no Arguments, nor Inſtances of Guilt had any Influence upon Men, who ſeem'd determin'd in their *Judgments* before they heard the *Merits* of the *Cauſe*: Not the Fear of drawing upon them the Hatred of their Fellow-Citizens, not the imminent Danger their Country muſt run, from the eſcape of theſe Delinquents, could get the better of a *ſpreading Corruption*. They, who were at firſt innocent, made themſelves criminal by defending the Guilty; ſhewing plainly that the Warmth which they had expreſs'd againſt the Criminals, was thro' Anger for not having been let into the Secret, and made Partners in the Profits of ſo ſucceſsful a Robbery; and that they had Inclinations as miſchievous and baſe, as the moſt malignant of the Conſpirators.

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A CERTAIN Author relates, that the day before *Catiline's* Trial came on, *Hortenſius* went about from one Senator's Houſe to another, and ſpeaking to them one by one in their Cloſets, there made uſe of thoſe *Golden* Arguments which in this infamous Age were found irreſiſtible, and which made *Catiline's* Affair ſafe. Nor were theſe corrupt Practiſes any Secret to the *Romans*, who knew very well what it was that brought about this *new Confederacy* of *Hortenſius* with *Catiline*. They ſaw the Friends, Creatures, and Clients of *Hortenſius* immediately obtain Offices by the Intereſt of *Catiline*; and that the two Statesmen play'd the Game into each others Hands by turns, in order to aggrandize themſelves on the publick Ruin: Now dividing, then uniting, as the Scene of Affairs happen'd to ſhift. Nor is there any thing more certain, than that at this very time, tho' *Catiline* was ſav'd by the Management of *Hortenſius*, and *Hortenſius* aggrandiz'd by the Intereſt of *Catiline*, they ſecretly *hated* each other, and tho' the Circumſtance of Affairs now made an *Union* neceſſary to them both, yet each privately reſolv'd to *ruin* the other, whenever he ſhould find a fit Opportunity. For Envy and Avarice always accompany each other, and each would be for graſping the whole Spoil of the Publick to himſelf.

UPON the Acquittal of *Catiline*, a kind of Deſpair ſpread it-ſelf thro' the Populace, nor was ever any thing ſo miſerable as their preſent Condition. It was melancholy to look into the Wants of private Families; they who but for ſome Months before, liv'd in Eaſe and Plenty, were reduc'd to Streights for the very Neceſſaries of Life, while they ſaw theſe *triumphant Robbers*, laughing at Juſtice, and ſhining in Gold and Purple, ſpurning and inſulting the People whoſe Wealth they were dreſt in. Nor durſt the poor ſufferers *reproach* their Plunderers, becauſe it was *penal* to *beſpatter* their *Honour*. For tho' Virtue fears no Calumny, Vice is tender, and will not be touch'd too rudely.

THE Senate alſo diſcover'd, what *vaſt Quantities* of the People's Money had been given to *foreign Courtiſans*, *Bawds*, *Paraſites*, and *Ganimedes*, who had made young *Verres* their Agent in this Affair: and the Reſolution at firſt was to have the Agents puniſh'd: But finding

finding by the Acquittal of *Catiline*, that the Stream of Corruption run so very violent, that there was no bearing up against it; they despair'd of contributing to the Relief of the Common-wealth, and therefore were determin'd to let the Matter rest: As a Pilot, who, when the Tempest runs so strong that the Ship is not to be manag'd, quits the Helm, and trusts the Safety of it to the Immortal Gods.

WHAT afterwards became of *CATILINE* and his *Adherents*, shall be the Subject of another Discourse, as the Author can find Leisure to collect and digest the Materials for this History.

FINIS.